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Received Washington CommCen
9:39 A.M. EDT Saturday 31 Aug 68

Received LBJ Ranch CommCen
10:00 A.M. EDT Saturday 31 Aug 68

FROM WALT ROSTOW
TO THE PRESIDENT
CITE CAP 319

~~SECRET~~

HEREWITH MOSCOW'S LINE TO THE U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY IN
CZECHOSLOVAKIA, VIA FBI.

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA; INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

DECLASSIFIED
DATE 10/15/03

02-34

4-28-03

A SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION
IN THE PAST, ADVISED THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET
UNION HAS INFORMED THE COMMUNIST PARTY UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA AS FOLLOWS CONCERNING THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN SITUATION:

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION CONSIDERS
ALEXANDER DUBCEK, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, A "DOUBLE CROSSING
LIAR". BEGINNING SEVEN MONTHS AGO, THE SOVIETS HELD
NUMEROUS MEETINGS WITH THE CZECHS IN WHICH DUBCEK WAS
WARNED BY THE RUSSIANS THAT THERE WAS REASON TO BELIEVE
THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA WAS LOSING
CONTROL AND THAT RIGHT WING COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY
FORCES WERE PREPARING TO TAKE OVER CZECHOSLOVAKIA.
THEY WERE TRAINING FIGHTING FORCES, STRUGGLING IN
WEAPONS ET CETERA. DUBCEK WAS INVITED TO ATTEND THE
WARSAW MEETING IN JULY, NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT, BUT REFUSED AND
LATER STATED HE DID NOT ATTEND BECAUSE HE WAS NOT INVITED.
THEN AT THE CIERNA MEETING AND AGAIN AT THE BRATISLAVA
MEETING, WHICH DUBCEK ATTENDED, HE WAS INFORMED IN CONCRETE
DETAILS CONCERNING COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES IN
CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE DETAILS OF WHICH WERE NOT PUBLISHED IN
THE COMMUNIQUE AND STILL CAN NOT BE DISCUSSED. SOME
OF THESE DETAILS WERE CONFIRMED BY MEMBERS OF THE CZECH-
OSLOVAKIAN COMMUNIST PARTY PRESIDUM, WHO ATTENDED THE
MEETINGS. DUBCEK GAVE ASSURANCES THAT HE WOULD CORRECT
THESE MATTERS, BUT FAILED TO MAKE ANY EFFORT TO DO SO
AND MATTERS GOT STEADILY WORSE. IN FACT, DUBCEK EVEN
ENTRUSTED SOME DETAILS OF INVESTIGATING THE SITUATION TO
JOSEF PAVEL, CZECH MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, WHO THE
RUSSIANS HAD WARNED WAS COOPERATING WITH THE RIGHT
WING COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES. CONFIRMATION OF PAVEL'S GUILT
IS THE FACT THAT HE DISAPPEARED ON THE DAY OF THE INVASION
OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND HAS NOT BEEN SEEN SINCE.

THE SOVIET UNION, ITS SOCIALIST ALLIES AND "REAL
COMMUNISTS" IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA MUST VIEW THIS SITUATION FROM
THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE RELATION OF FORCES IN EUROPE AND
THE WORLD, AND, THEREFORE, DECIDED THAT ACTION MUST BE
TAKEN TO PREVENT CZECHOSLOVAKIA FROM BEING TAKEN FROM THE
SOCIALIST CAMP, THUS CHANGING THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN
EUROPE AND THE WORLD. IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE RIGHT WING
FORCES WERE PACKING THE SEPTEMBER NINE FOURTEEN COMRADES
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND IF PERMITTED
WOULD BE ABLE TO

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TO BE HELD, THE RESULTS OF THIS CONGRESS WOULD BE "HORRIBLE". THE CONGRESS WOULD GIVE LEGALITY TO BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. ALL REAL COMMUNISTS WOULD BE ELIMINATED. THIS WOULD OPEN THE WESTERN BORDER TO WEST GERMAN REVANCHISTS, AND BECAUSE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S STRATEGIC POSITION, WOULD JEOPARDIZE THE SECURITY OF ALL WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. IN SPITE OF REPEATED WARNINGS, DUBCEK DID NOTHING TO CORRECT THE SITUATION, AND, THEREFORE, THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES DECIDED TO INTERVENE MILITARILY AT THAT TIME, BECAUSE IF THEY DELAYED UNTIL THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY FORCES BECAME ENTRENCHED, IT WOULD BE MANY TIMES MORE DIFFICULT TO DISLODGE THEM.

WHEN THE SOVIET TROOPS REACHED PRAGUE, THEY CONFIRMED THEIR INTELLIGENCE AND UNCOVERED ARMS CACHES IN THE BASEMENTS OF ELEVEN GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES, INCLUDING ANTI-TANK GUNS, HEAVY MACHINE GUNS, GRENADE LAUNCHERS, ET CETERA. SOVIET AND ALLIED TROOPS UNCOVERED CACHES OF UNITED STATES AND WEST GERMAN ARMS TALLING MORE THAN FORTY THOUSAND AUTOMATIC WEAPONS IN THE MOUNTAINS, NEAR THE BORDERS, IN BRATISLAVA, BRNO, OSTROVA, ET CETERA. THEY FOUND SECRET PRINTING SHOPS AND MOBILE RADIO STATIONS MOUNTED ON SPECIAL TRUCKS. THESE ITEMS MAY SOON BE EXHIBITED IN A PRAGUE SQUARE. THE SOVIETS KNOW WHERE AND HOW SOME OF THESE ITEMS CROSSED THE BORDERS FROM AUSTRIA AND WEST GERMANY AND WHO IS RESPONSIBLE. THEY KNOW THAT THREE HUNDRED ORGANIZERS WERE BROUGHT IN FROM THE WEST TO LEAD THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES. OBVIOUSLY, THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY AND WEST GERMAN INTELLIGENCE DREW MORE CONCLUSIONS FROM THE COUNTERREVOLUTION IN HUNGARY IN NINETEEN FIFTY SIX, THAN SOME COMMUNISTS DREW. THE "ENEMY" IS OBVIOUSLY SMARTER AND, IN THE CASE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, WAS MORE SOPHISTICATED IN PREPARING THE COUNTERREVOLUTION.

AS A RESULT OF THE MOSCOW CONTACTS WITH THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN LEADERSHIP, MEMBERS OF THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN PRESIDIUUM SAW THE TRUE SITUATION AND THEMSELVES REQUESTED THAT THE SOVIET TROOPS REMAIN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA UNTIL THE LEADERSHIP CONSOLIDATES ITS POSITION. THEY AGREED THAT THE CLANDESTINE FOURTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA WILL BE DECLARED ILLEGAL AND STEPS WILL BE TAKEN TO CORRECT THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. NEVERTHELESS, THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF A WIDE STRUGGLE AND THAT THE ENEMY COULD MOBILIZE TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE TO FIGHT FOR THE COUNTERREVOLUTION, BUT IT IS BELIEVED THAT THE COUNTERREVOLUTION IS DETERIORATING.

THIS SOURCE ALSO ADVISED THAT THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HAS INFORMED COMMUNIST PARTY UNITED STATES OF AMERICA OF SIMILAR INFORMATION INCLUDING THE FACT THAT ITS FIRST SECRETARY, JANOS KADAR, PERSONALLY CALLED DUBCEK AND MET WITH HIM NEAR THE HUNGARIAN BORDER LAST AUGUST EIGHTEENTH, TWO DAYS BEFORE THE INVASION, AND WARNED HIM THAT IF HE DID NOT DO SOMETHING QUICKLY, THE WARSAW PACT NATIONS WOULD HAVE TO ACT. HE PLEADED WITH DUBCEK TO NO AVAIL AND THE INVASION FOLLOWED.

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